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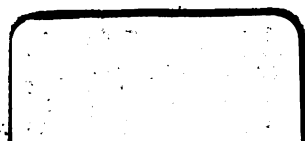
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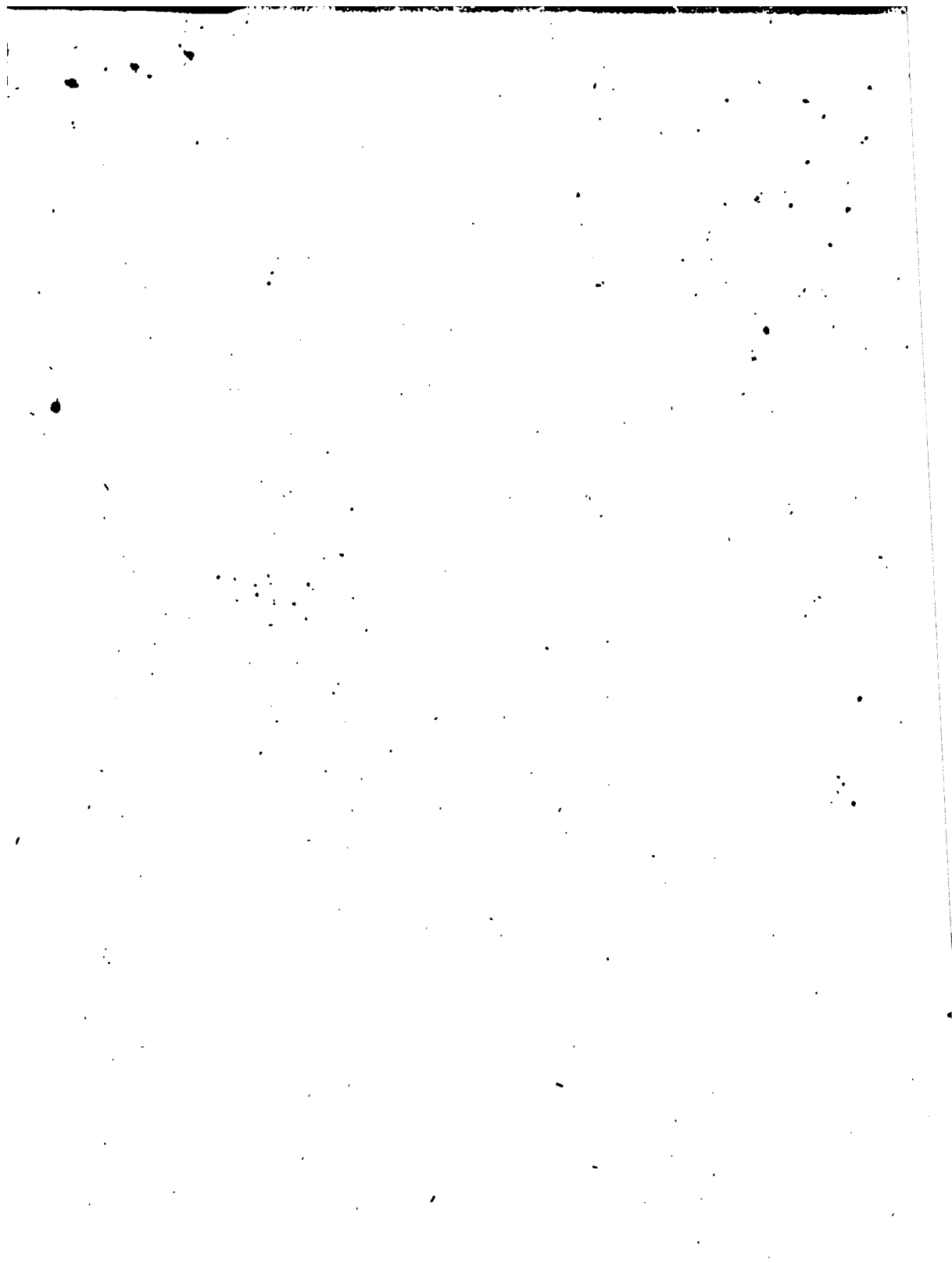
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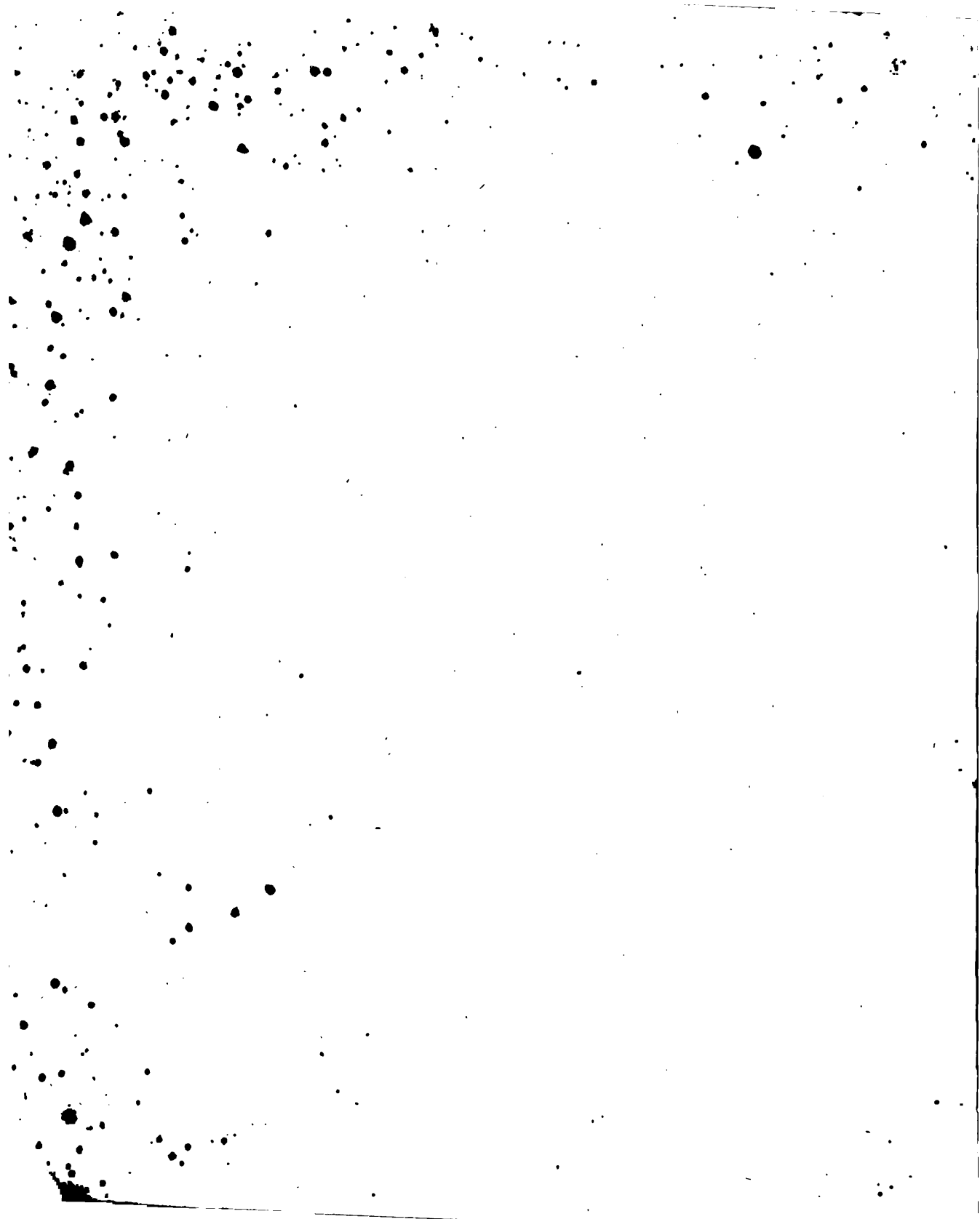
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THE FRAGMENTS OF PRIMITIVE LITURGIES

AND

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH

CONTAINED IN THE WRITINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

TWO DISSERTATIONS,

READ IN THE DIVINITY SCHOOLS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

ON THE 15TH AND 16TH OF NOVEMBER, 1870.

BY

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.,

COLL. VIGORN.

HEAD MASTER OF KING EDWARD VI SCHOOL, NORWICH.



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SI QUID NOVISTI RECTIUS ISTIS
CANDIDUS IMPERTI SI NON HIS UTERE MECUM.

DISSERTATION I.

THE Evangelist St. Luke, in the preface to his Gospel, has seen fit to lay before us his reasons for publishing a new record of the Lord Jesus' life. There were already many διηγήσεις of doubtful authority, but he would now so write that his friend Theophilus might be furnished with facts upon which he could implicitly rely, and hence arrive at a fuller assurance regarding those λόγοι¹ in which he had been systematically instructed.

¹ ἵνα ἐπιγνῶ
περὶ ὧν κατὰ
χρήθης λόγων
τὴν ἀσφάλειαν

2. Again, in his Book of the Acts of the Apostles, when the same Evangelist introduces Apollos to the notice of his readers, he describes him as 'mighty in the Scriptures,' and as one who had been 'systematically instructed' in 'THE WAY' of the Lord.²

² κxviii. 25, οὗ-
τῃ κατὰ χημέ-
την ὁδὸν τοῦ
Κυρίου.

3. Once more, we read that when Sergius Paulus, the deputy at Cyprus, was impressed by the Apostles' preaching, and gave in his adherence to the truths proclaimed, he believed, startled by the διδαχή of the Lord.³

³ ἐκπληροσώ-
μος ἐπὶ τῇ δι-
δαχῇ τοῦ Κυρίου
Acts xiii. 12.

4. Lastly, when Elymas strove to hinder the work begun, and to weaken the impression that had been made, we are told 'he sought to turn away the Procurator from the faith;' ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως: and when in the sixth chapter we hear of a great multitude of priests being convinced, it is said of them ὑπήκουον τῇ πίστει.

A careful comparison of the passages referred to, with many others that will come under review in the following pages, forces upon us the conviction that the four terms here employed, ὁ λόγος, ἡ διδαχὴ, ἡ ὁδός, and ἡ πίστις, all refer substantially to the same thing. Viewed with reference to the speaker who by word of mouth rendered an *account* of what was to be believed, it was ὁ λόγος; viewed with reference to the teacher who instructed, or the neophyte who received *instruction*, it was ἡ διδαχὴ; while as it was a summary of those things which were most surely *believed*, it was ἡ πίστις; and as the *line along which all dogmatic exposition was to travel*, it was ἡ ὁδός.

It would happen in the natural course, that as one term became (so to speak) the favourite, this term would tend to thrust the others out of use; and accordingly it appears that one of these terms, ἡ ὁδός, did actually cease to be employed very early; but there is abundant evidence of the fact, that, while the organization of the infant Church was still imperfect, these four terms were used as practically convertible.

Thus the διδαχὴ τοῦ Κυρίου of the 12th ver. of Acts xiii. is plainly the λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου of the 48th and 49th verses, and as plainly the ὁδός τοῦ Κυρίου of Acts xviii. 25, and the πίστις τοῦ Κυρίου of St. James ii. 1.

Again the ὁδός σωτηρίας of Acts xvi. 17, is clearly the λόγος σωτηρίας of Acts xiii. 26, and probably the κοινὴ σωτηρία of St. Jude,⁴ while the ὁδός, which St. Paul declares he once persecuted, and which⁵ we hear certain men spake evil of before the people—can be no other than the πίστις in which Paul and Barnabas besought the men of Pisidia to abide,⁶ in which the churches were confirmed as they increased in number daily,⁷ the πίστις which St. Paul when he had finished his course glories in having

⁴ Jude 3.

⁵ Acts xix. 9.

⁶ παρακαλοῦν-
τες ἐμμένειν τῇ
πίστει, Acts xiv.
22.

⁷ αἱ μὲν οὖν
ἐκκλησίαι ἔστε-
ρεοῦντο τῇ
πίστει κ.τ.λ.
Acts xvi. 5.

kept,⁸ and that which in its later and more expanded form he refers to again and again under the designations of ἡ καλὴ τὴν π τετήρηκα Tim. iv. παραθήκη, ὁ πιστὸς λόγος, ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, and other names, which we shall attempt in the sequel to deal with in fuller detail.

That these four terms refer to a Formulated Summary of Primitive Christian Doctrine is the first position which this Essay attempts to support.

Such a summary would of course serve more than a single purpose. To the preacher of the Redeemer's truth it was a guide and safeguard, keeping him from licence in speculation, and rashness in assertion. To the anxious enquirer, desirous to enter the Church, it was a simple elementary instruction in the primary essentials of the Christian Faith. To the newly-baptized believer it was a blessed memento of the solemn profession he had made at the laver of regeneration, when he had 'passed from death unto life, and from the power of Satan unto God.'

Hence it is only what we should expect if the writers of the several Epistles appeal to and allude to this summary of Christian truth as to a Palladium which each Christian would naturally hold very dear. Renegades who had left the Church under the presence of persecution are called ἀδόκιμοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν,⁹ or are said ἀρνούσθαι τὴν πίστιν.¹⁰ Timothy is exhorted ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως,¹¹ and in the Apocalypse the ἄγιοι are described as those οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ.¹²

⁸ 2 Tim. ii.
¹⁰ ...τὴν πίστιν ἀρνούσθαι καὶ ἐστὶν ἀπίστος, 1 T. v. 8. Comj.
 Apoc. ii. 13 οὐκ ἀρνήσω πίστιν μου.
¹¹ 1 Tim. 12; 2 Tim. 7.
¹² Apoc. x 12.

That something like a dogmatic Confession of Faith was drawn up very soon after the ascension of our Lord appears from the nature of the case more than probable. It is scarcely conceivable —when such prodigious effects were produced by St. Peter's

address on the day of Pentecost, and when such an astonishing accession of converts was made to the number of the believers, —that the new society, by no means blind to the immense destiny which was before it, and the mighty work it was to carry out, should have remained long without some organized machinery for proselytizing, and some discipline for the regulation of its inner life and the display of its necessary activity.

Accordingly, no sooner do we read that three thousand were added to the Church in a single day than we are assured that these same new converts continued steadfastly attending to the doctrines of the Apostles, and to *the* common contribution, and to *the* breaking of bread, and to *the* prayers.¹³ The force of the article in these passages, however unhappily it was lost sight of by our revered translators, can by no means be passed over. In every single instance the term employed is a technical term, which subsequently attained an important significance, and if ‘the breaking of bread’ must be taken to refer to a religious rite, and the *κοινωνία* must as certainly be assumed to point to a general contribution to a common fund—(such as Macedonia and Achaia afterwards made for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem,¹⁴ which the Hebrew Christians were specially admonished not to neglect,¹⁵ and which the Corinthians are commended for having carried out with simple liberality¹⁶)—not less certainly must the *διδασχῇ* be understood to refer to an authoritative and dogmatic exposition of the fundamental verities of the Christian faith; while by the *προσευχαι* are meant simple forms of prayer, which would be among the very first necessities of the multitudes whose awakened consciences, and whose excited feelings would require that the outpourings of their emotions should be guided, instructed, and controlled, and the worshipper

¹³ Acts ii. 42, ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδασχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

¹⁴ Acts xv. 26.

¹⁵ Heb. xiii.

¹⁶.

¹⁶ 2 Cor. ix.

¹³.

preserved from spasmodical utterances apt to run riot into wildness and extravagance.

Nor are allusions to such forms of prayer wanting. When the continued growth of the Church had brought with it an increase in the number of those distracting engagements which constitute the most serious interruptions to the work of an evangelist, then it was seen that the governing body of the Church needed to be relieved in some way from the immense pressure of mere business which threatened to embarrass and overwhelm the Apostolic College. The diaconate was accordingly instituted. To the Deacons was committed the administration of the *κοινωνία*, 'but,' said the Twelve, 'we will give our attention to the prayers and to the ministry of the λόγος.'¹⁷

That these prayers were, as yet, strictly confined to written forms, from the letter of which it was forbidden to wander, is far from probable: On the contrary, we read of Epaphras always mentioning the Colossians, and interceding for them in the prayers which he offered up in the Roman Congregations,¹⁸ of particular directions given to Timothy that the Emperor and those in authority should be similarly mentioned in the public worship; And I cannot doubt that when a special prayer was offered up in the Church for Peter during his imprisonment, a special form of words was prepared for the extraordinary occasion;¹⁹ nor can I at all believe that that most memorable prayer which the whole congregation with one accord and one voice offered up on the occasion of the release of the Apostles by the Sanhedrim, was an *extempore* prayer, in the sense we now use that word, or that it was any other than a prayer previously composed and probably distributed for the occasion. Indeed, if really a whole congregation could burst forth in such a united act of

¹⁷ ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ
προσευχῇ καὶ
τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ
λόγου προσ-
κατεργήσομεν,
Acts vi. 4.
Compare here
the use of
διακονία, Rom.
xii. 7.
¹⁸ . . . Ἐπα-
φρᾶς ὁ ἐξ ὑμῶν
. . . πάντοτε
ἀγωνιζόμενος
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν
ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

¹⁹ Acts xii. 5.

worship, using the same words by a common uncontrollable impulse, then this *may* well be described, as it has been by a living divine, as 'the most stupendous miracle recorded in the oracles of God.'

But in truth nothing is more remarkable in the history of the Church than the promptness with which the Apostles set themselves to legislate for special occasions, and the wisdom they exhibit in dealing with difficulties as they arose. I have already alluded to the institution of the order of deacons, but no less striking is the ordaining of Barnabas and Saul (Acts xiii.) for the extraordinary mission at Antioch; the provision for allaying the prejudice against St. Paul on his last recorded return to Jerusalem; and, above all, the publication of the *δόγματα* on the question of admitting Gentiles into the fold of Christ.

²⁰ Acts xv. 6
and seq.

On this occasion²⁰ we find that the Apostolic College, seeing the gravity of the point at issue, and that a crisis in the history of the Church had come, hesitated to put forth any Canons on their own authority solely, but calling a Council of the whole Church at Jerusalem, they solemnly deliberated upon the course to be adopted, and only after long discussion and devout enquiry did they finally agree upon the important point that was raised. But the *δόγματα* once having been passed, no time was lost in giving them publicity.²¹

²¹ Acts xv. 22.

A formal copy of the resolution passed at the meeting of the Council was committed to Paul, Barnabas, and Silas, and these distinguished servants of the Church were at once sent forth to promulgate the Canon. In this case there can be no doubt that we have the actual words of the letter which the commissioners were furnished with. We are expressly told that the decree was disseminated as widely as possible, and that it

was imposed upon the several Churches as an ordinance binding upon all who were baptized in the name of Christ. It is moreover observable that these ordinances were not promulgated once, and once only, and that when the special occasion had passed, they were forgotten; on the contrary the *δόγματα* of the Council at Jerusalem were evidently imposed as fundamental conditions of union upon every new Christian community which was afterwards admitted into Church membership, and more than once we meet with allusions to these decrees in Epistles to Churches *which were not founded for some years after the Council was held*. Thus it can scarcely be doubted that the *παραγγελίαι* which St. Paul speaks of having given to the Thessalonians,²³ regarding fornication, refer to these early *δόγματα*, for so only can we explain the full force of his language, where he says that they had been given *διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*, i.e. by the instrumentality of the Lord Jesus; and a large portion of the First Epistle to the Corinthian Church appears actually taken up with explaining and enforcing those very decrees on the subject of fornication, and things offered to idols, as against those who assumed that the *δόγματα* were only meant for such as were 'babes in Christ,' and no longer binding upon advanced Christians who had risen to the apprehension of an esoteric *γνώσις*.

²³ 1 Thess.
iv. 2.

How then can it be conceived that any time should have been lost in drawing up a Confession of Faith for the guidance of the teacher and the support of the taught? especially when it is remembered that all this wonderful progress—all this divine awakening of men's minds, and this eager acceptance of Christ, was going on for years before the earliest of our Gospels was composed, nay, probably before two of our

Evangelists were converted to the Faith at all. For it must never be forgotten that the growth of the Church was not due to the Gospels, but the Gospels sprang into being from the needs of the Church.

Hence it appears not so very improbable that the ancient tradition of the Apostles' Creed being actually composed by the twelve may have some basis of truth to repose on. I have already pointed out that the expression διδαχὴ τοῦ Κυρίου is to be regarded as the equivalent of the ὁδὸς τοῦ Κυρίου : but in the second chapter of the Acts, verse 42, we find this term in another form ; it is there called διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, as though the very first work which the Apostles had set themselves to labour at (possibly in that awful time of suspense and anxious expectation which preceded the day of Pentecost) had been the drawing up of some short summary of doctrine in conformity with which all the teaching of the future should be carried on. And one very striking passage in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, which it appears to me commentators so far have misunderstood, affords a remarkable confirmation of this view. In the eleventh chapter of the Epistle and the sixth verse, St. Paul is contrasting his own claims to be listened to with those put forth by the false teachers at Corinth.²³ 'For,' says he, 'I reckon myself in no respect to have fallen short of the chiefest Apostles,' for although an unofficial person in regard to the λόγος, I am not so in regard of the γνώσις, i.e. in the drawing up of the first elementary summary of Christian doctrine I took no part, for I was no Apostle then, yet in the fuller and more developed exposition of the Faith—the γνώσις—I did take my part, and my apostleship was acknowledged.

This is that λόγος which he subsequently commands Timothy

²³ λογίζομαι γὰρ μηδὲν ὑστερηκέναι τῶν ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀποστόλων· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώσει, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ φανερώσαντες ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς. Taking this view of the passage, it appears to me that the reading φανερώσαντες becomes the only intelligible one; the diplomatic evidence in its favour is overwhelming.

to proclaim²⁴—*κήρυξον τὸν λόγον*—and to persist in with all patience in teaching (a hendiadys), ‘because,’ he adds, ‘the time will come when people will not endure the wholesome doctrine, but will choose teachers according to their own fancies.’ This is that *λόγος ἀκοῆς* which the Thessalonians²⁵ are said to have received not as a human, but as a divine *λόγος*, as in truth it was. This is that *λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ* which the Corinthians²⁶ are reminded did not go out from them, but came to them. This is that *λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου* of which, in writing to the Thessalonians, the Apostle prays that it may have free course and be glorified. Lastly, it is that *τύπος διδαχῆς* to which at their baptism the Roman Christians were handed over, and by virtue of the reception of which they were freed from the bondage of sin and bound by a new bond to righteousness.²⁷

²⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 2.

²⁵ 1 Thess. ii. 13.

²⁶ 1 Cor. xiv. 36.

²⁷ Rom. vi. 17.

But this passage in the Epistle to the Corinthians, which puts in such marked contrast the *λόγος* (or primary and elementary summary of the faith) and the *γνώσις* (or esoteric doctrine to which probably the Christian was introduced only after his baptism), brings us to a further examination of those passages where the *γνώσις* is alluded to.

It must be conceded that, as a technical term, *ἡ γνώσις* appears much more frequently in the Epistles to the Corinthians than anywhere else in the New Testament; but, though this might suggest the hypothesis that the origin of the term is to be traced to the Corinthian Church in the first instance, we do meet with it in its technical sense in other Apostolic writings.

In the Epistles to the Corinthians, however, the passage referred to above by no means stands alone. A plain allusion to this distinction between the *πίστις* and the *γνώσις* is to be met with in the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle, where

the commentators, as far as my observation goes, have failed to point out the right explanation of the acknowledged difficulty. The second verse stands thus : καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν (observe, no definite article) καὶ ἐὰν εἰδῶ τὰ μυστηρία πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάνειν, ἀγάπην δὲ (again no definite article) μὴ ἔχω οὐθέν εἰμι. The passage should, I believe, be thus translated:—‘And if I have a gift of prophecy and know *all the mysteries*, and *the whole* γνῶσις, and if *I hold the whole* πίστις to such an extent as to remove mountains, yet have not love, I am nothing.’ The εἰδέναι τὰ μυστηρία is illustrated by another passage in the eighth chapter, which will be discussed hereafter; but the distinction between τὴν πίστιν and τὴν γνῶσιν appears obvious.

In the first chapter of this Epistle a no less evident and significant allusion is to be found. At the fifth verse the Apostle gives thanks to God ὅτι ἐν παντὶ ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει καθὼς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐβεβαιώθη ἐν ὑμῖν—i.e. Because ye were enriched by Him^a in every way, to wit, ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει. That these words are extremely difficult of translation is certain; but not less certain is it that the rendering of the Anglican Version is untenable, and though I hesitate to translate ‘with *every* λόγος and *every* γνῶσις,’ yet I feel no doubt that the true key to the meaning of the expression is to be sought in that marked

^a I regard the first ἐν-παντὶ as equivalent to an adverb of manner; the second παντὶ is in close concord with λόγῳ, and only affected by the preposition in so far as it agrees with its noun; ἐν αὐτῷ is here instrumental, as in Rom. v. 9, 10, and, as I believe, much more frequently in St. Paul than is usually supposed. See Ellicott on Eph. ii. 13.

distinction between the two terms which has been pointed out before.^a

A similar allusion to this esoteric *γνώσις* is observable in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul is there insisting that Jew and Gentile are equally liable to the righteous judgment of God. He puts the case thus:²⁸—‘But you call yourself a Jew and rest upon the law, and boast yourself in God, and know His will, and are examining points of difference, *having had your catechising in the law*, and believe yourself to be a leader of the blind, a light to those in darkness, an instructor of the simple, a teacher of babes, *having your form of the γνώσις and the truth in the law.*’^b Whatever else the word *γνώσις* may mean, it certainly is not adequately represented by the ‘knowledge’ of the Anglican Version; and here, as elsewhere, the significance of the definite article can by no means be passed over. If, however, the *ἀληθεία* here be the *λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας* of the Second of Timothy and elsewhere, the *πιστὸς λόγος*, the *λόγος σωτηρίας*, called in the Acts (ii. 42) the *διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, then the *γνώσις* here, as

²⁸ Rom. ii. 17.

^a It is quite possible that allusion is made to the existence of distinctive *λόγοι* or *γνώσεις* among the conflicting Church parties at Corinth.

^b *Εἰ δὲ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ἐπονομάζῃ καὶ ἐπαναπαύῃ νόμῳ, καὶ καυχᾶσαι ἐν Θεῷ, καὶ γιγνώσκεις τὸ θέλημα, καὶ δοκιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα, κατηχούμενος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου* Anything like a discussion of the *syntactical* difficulties of this passage would of course be beyond my province here; but I feel no doubt, i. that the verbs *ἐπονομάζῃ*, *ἐπαναπαύῃ*, and *καυχᾶσαι* are *all* to be taken as *middle verbs*; ii. that *δοκιμάζεις* is to be taken in the sense of ‘testing’ or ‘examining’ (see Bp. Ellicott on Eph. v. 10); iii. that *τὰ διαφέροντα*, whatever else it may mean (and how widely different the meanings given to it have been may be seen in Ellicott, Phil. i. 10) cannot *here* mean ‘things which transcend,’ even though so profound a scholar as Professor Lightfoot has so rendered the phrase in the parallel passage.

in the former passage to which attention has been drawn, can be no other than the fuller and more expanded summary of the faith which received this technical name.

One more passage must be noticed in which the same allusion is to be found. I refer to the fervent and sublime prayer for the Ephesian converts. Here again the significance of the definite article is to be insisted on, and the distinction between *πίστις* and *γνώσις* to be carefully observed; and here too I believe, as elsewhere, that the key to the obscurity of the eighteenth verse is to be found in looking upon it as containing allusions to the *mystical phraseology of the Theosophic Formulæ* with which the half-instructed converts of Ephesus (as of Corinth, Colossæ, and elsewhere) would be acquainted, and from which deliverance was to be sought by giving greater prominence to the ethical element in Christianity. The Apostle thus begins:—‘ . . . I bow my knees to the Father . . . that he may grant you according to the riches of His glory to receive strength by means of His Spirit into the inner man, so as for Christ to take up his abode in your hearts, *by means of the faith*—being rooted in love as ye are, and having had your foundation laid—in order that ye may be thoroughly able to comprehend with all the saints what is [the true significance of] the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and [be able] to know Christ’s love which transcends the *γνώσις*, in order that [as the *final result*] ye may be filled to all the fulness of God.’^a A beginning might be made when the *πίστις* was

^a . . . κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, . . . ἵνα δὲ ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζώμενοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, ἵνα ἐξισχύσητε καταλαβεῖσθαι σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις τί τὸ πλάτος καὶ μήκος καὶ ὕψος καὶ βάθος,

accepted, when the neophyte put on Christ, and through the *γνώσις* he might make a step in advance, but real progress was first made when Christ was accepted with the heart, and when the mere intellectual *γνώσις* was supplemented by love—the soil in which the Christian could alone hope to grow and bring forth fruit to the end.

But as in the case of what I have called the primary or elementary summary of Christian doctrine, we find that in the as yet

γνώναι τε τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγάπην τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα πληρωθῇτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, Eph. iii. 14-19.

[Few as are the mistakes in Tregelles' text, his oversights where *accents* are concerned are not unfrequent; to *πάσι* at v. 18 we may add 1 Cor. x. 11, *τυπικῶς*; xv. 5, *ἐκτός*; xv. 33, *χρήστα*; v. 34, *λάλω*. But my friend Mr. Scrivener assures me he has collected upwards of a hundred of the same character.]

With regard to the *grammar* of this passage, it will be sufficient to note—i. that *κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος* and *κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως* must necessarily be taken as expressing *instrumentality*: the *πνεῦμα* is the instrument in one case, the *πίστις* in the other; ii. that *κατοικῆσαι* is *consecutive* upon *κραταιωθῆναι*; iii. that *ἵνα ἐξισχύσητε* expresses the primary purpose, or result that the prayer has in view; iv. that *ἵνα πληρωθῇτε* marks the ultimate purpose; *καταλαβέσθαι* indicates intellectual apprehension; *γνῶναι* experimental fruition.

WHAT St. Paul prays for is, that the Ephesians may receive Christ into their 'heart of hearts;' they had accepted 'the Faith,' and the beginnings of a sanctifying emotion had become manifest, but growth in Christian experience was supremely desirable, and this he prays they may attain.

WHY that growth was so desirable he explains:—

- i. Because it would bring profounder insight into the infinite depths of the Divine Mysteries with which if the *γνώσεις* professed to deal, they would but deal, at best, inadequately.
- ii. Because it would bring more intimate *personal union* with Christ on the emotional side, with which the *γνώσεις* did not even pretend to deal.
- iii. Because the final grand result would be that the convert would attain, at least in idea, to the fulness of the Divine Perfection.

unsettled condition of church government that summary is called by different names,—sometimes it is ὁδός, sometimes λόγος, sometimes πίστις,—so is it probable that this esoteric γνώσις was designated by other equivalent terms. We need not go beyond the Epistle to the Ephesians itself to be convinced that the term *μυστήριον* was used as an equivalent of the other term γνώσις:²⁹ while from 1 Cor. xv. 51, it would almost seem that any advanced statement was called a *μυστήριον*, any truth, i.e. for which the babe in Christ might not be prepared, though it was meet and right that the more advanced Christian should be instructed in it. Thus in writing on the subject of the resurrection of the body, St. Paul draws attention to what he is about to say on the subject by calling it *μυστήριον*;³⁰ in the First Epistle to Timothy, iii. 9, he orders that the deacons must be those ἔχοντας τὸ *μυστήριον* τῆς πίστεως: a few verses later he speaks of τὸ *μυστήριον* τῆς εὐσεβείας: and taking these passages in connection with others in the Apostolic writings, nor losing sight of the fact that the expression τὰ *μυστήρια* τῆς βασιλείας is more than once used by our Lord—in a sense which certainly supports the view advocated—bearing in mind too that the use of the term in the Apocalypse can bear this interpretation only—I am irresistibly led to the conclusion that the term *μυστήριον* is in many passages of St. Paul a technical term (if the expression may be allowed), the equivalent of what is elsewhere called γνώσις—and that both refer to the advanced summaries of Christian instruction to which, as will appear in the sequel, such frequent allusion is made.

But having arrived at this point, it will be well if I simply recapitulate what has been said.

I. I have pointed out, that at the very beginning of the history of the Christian Church we find a formal summary of Christian

²⁹ Eph. iii. 4. I cannot accept Meyer's view of this expression, adopted by Alford and Bishop Ellicott. See *infra*.

³⁰ ἰδοὺ *μυστήριον* ὑμῶν λέγω, 1 Cor. xv. 51.

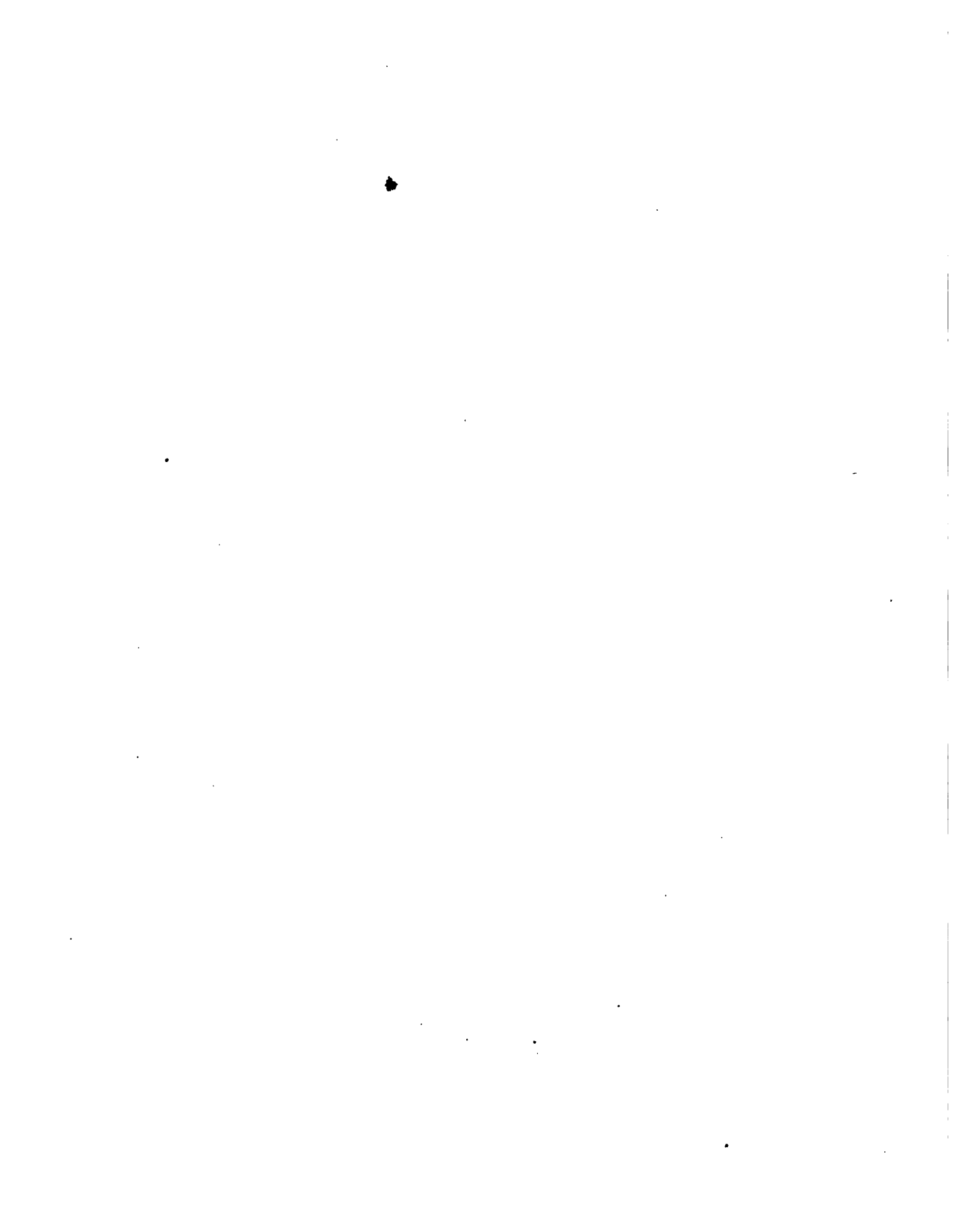
doctrine referred to under four different terms—*ἡ ὁδὸς, ἡ διδαχὴ, ὁ λόγος, ἡ πίστις*.

II. That such a summary would be felt as a necessity when no written record of our Lord's life existed, and the Christian Church was increasing enormously day by day.

III. That in the general organization of the Church conspicuous wisdom and foresight were exhibited when emergencies arose, and that it was unlikely (while forms of prayer were being composed for special occasions, and an elaborate organization of Church polity was set on foot in the first few months or even weeks after the day of Pentecost,) so primary a need as this should be left for long unsupplied.

Lastly, assuming that such a summary of fundamental Christian truth was drawn up thus early, that this *λόγος* or *διδαχὴ* was but a brief summary of primary Christian doctrine; possibly drawn up by the Twelve themselves; that the acceptance of this Elementary Creed was a condition of baptism; but that supplementary to this primary summary there appear to have been expanded statements of more advanced or esoteric doctrine—possibly less generally accepted, probably less universally diffused, and certainly less generally imposed; and that such an expanded statement was called *γνώσις* or *μυστήριον*, and possibly was known by other designations also.

It remains to consider what fragments of these original formularies of the Faith are embedded, and may still be traced, in the writings of the New Testament.



DISSERTATION II.

LET it be conceded that there is a strong *à priori* probability in favour of the assumption, that a brief summary of the prime essentials of the Christian Faith was among the first requisites of the Apostolic Church, and that all we know of the prudence, decision, and divinely-instructed wisdom exhibited in the administration of that Church, would lead us to expect that such a summary was drawn up at a very early period, and was issued with the sanction and authority of the Apostles themselves,—and a further inferential probability suggests itself.

If such a summary did exist, and if it be again and again *mentioned* and *referred to*, is it not at least extremely probable that in the Apostolic writings it should be *quoted* also? Nay, is it indeed conceivable that a 'symbol' so dear and so familiar,—round which so many solemn associations clustered, and which must necessarily have taken so firm a hold upon the memory,—could *fail* to be quoted in the sacred writings addressed to the several Churches of the baptized?

Let it be remembered that the several Epistles were addressed to Christians in every possible grade of spiritual progress: men of Rome perplexed by Jewish troublers—men of Corinth stirred by

the wildest excitement of overwrought enthusiasm, and phrenzied by notions of the most extravagant antinomianism—men of Galatia, so fickle as to be ready to give up the Faith for some dream of a hybrid Christianity, half gospel and half law—men of Thessalonica, disturbed by expectations of an immediate consummation of all things—up to that blameless and simple Philippian Church to which the Apostle could write as if the peace of God had rested on it, and the atmosphere of a divine joy were peculiarly its own. In writing to each and all of these, is it credible that *quotation* of familiar documents could be avoided ?

And if, on the contrary, it is reasonable to expect to meet with such quotation, what better task can we set ourselves than that of endeavouring to detect the fragments of the ancient formularies embedded in the Apostolic writings. If these have not been duly pointed out by others, perhaps it has been only because they have not been sought for with an intelligent scrutiny.

That we have something very like an actual verbatim report of an early *prayer* for a special occasion in the fourth chapter of the Acts has been already indicated. ‘*Miracula non multiplicanda*’ is a canon which it is well for us to bear in mind in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and if we can reasonably account for the appearance of this prayer in the text of St. Luke on the hypothesis of the Evangelist having a copy of the original document ready to hand, it is unnecessary to resort to the theory of some one having reported it to him from memory on the one hand, or of its having been dictated to him by verbal inspiration on the other.

But our business now is mainly with that summary which we have seen is called by the various names, λόγος, πίστις, διδαχὴ, ὁδός, a brief summary of credenda (and I should be inclined to think a very brief one) which it appears was offered for the acceptance of

those who were to 'put on Christ' at their baptism. Where is any quotation from this to be found?

In the eighth chapter of the Acts we meet with the story of Philip and the eunuch of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, and we read of the conversion wrought by the Apostle, and the celebration of baptism on that extraordinary occasion. In the Textus Receptus, we find that, in reply to the question of the eunuch, *τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι*; ¹ St. Philip answers, *εἰ πιστεύεις ἔξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἔξεστιν*, and it is added, *ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπε, Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*. Now there is little or no doubt that this thirty-seventh verse is an interpolation: the Codex Laudianus is the only Uncial MS. in which it is to be found, the immense majority of the cursives do not notice it, the early versions agree in omitting it, and critical editors without hesitation reject it as undoubtedly spurious. But how far back is the interpolation to be traced? To begin with, the Codex Laudianus cannot, it seems, be set down to a later date than the end of the sixth century: But before it could have been received into so splendid an Uncial as E, it must evidently have been accepted without question or suspicion for some considerable time. Accordingly, we find it quoted by Augustine and Jerome in the fifth century, by Pacian in the fourth, by Cyprian in the third, and by Irenæus in the second. 'This passage,' says Scrivener, 'affords us a curious instance of an *addition* well received in the Western Church from the second century downwards, and afterwards making some way among the later Greek codices and writers,' (Introduction, p. 444). But how did it get interpolated in the first instance? Scrivener's suggestion is doubtless the right one, namely, that it was received into the text from the margin, 'where the formula *πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν* had been placed,

¹ Acts viii. 37.

Scrivener, Introduction, p. 128; Tischendorf, Proleg., Ed. 7^{me}, p. clxxviii.

extracted from some Church ordinal.' Observe how much is implied in this hypothesis! Already, at the end of the second century, we find an interpolation received into the text from the margin, and *that margin a quotation from a service book*. But the marginal note itself must have been regarded with some kind of reverence, and have been somewhat familiar to the memories of the annotator and of those in whose hands he expected his MS. to fall before a scribe could have ventured to deal with it so boldly.

Let it be remembered that before the whole process of introducing this interpolation from the service book into the margin, and from the margin into the text, could be so complete as that Irenæus should quote it from the text without a suspicion of its spuriousness, a considerable lapse of time must be conceded; and whether we put the date of Irenæus' death with Dodwell as early as 167, or with Baronius as late as 205, in any case we are compelled to allow that, probably at the very beginning of the third century, possibly towards the end of the second, we find unmistakable indications of a service book being familiarly known in the sub-Apostolic Church (to use an expression of the late Professor Blunt) which contained, as one clause of a Primitive Confession of Faith, πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

But though this clause be all that Irenæus quotes of the verse now standing in the *Textus ab omnibus Rejectus*, yet the whole verse is found in E, and with a very suggestive variant in the reading. Instead of εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἔξεστιν, the Laudian MS. reads ἐὰν πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σωθήσῃ. Now, although it cannot be doubted that the particle ἐὰν is found with the indicative in the New Testament, yet it is, to say the least, a rare construction, and singularly inexplicable here; but what are we to make of the word σωθήσῃ? On turning to the Epistle to

the Romans we find the true key to the whole matter ; although in doing so a wide field of interesting enquiry (too wide to allow of our doing more than touch lightly upon on the present occasion) is opened out to our attention. At the tenth chapter of the Epistle² St. Paul is contrasting the δικαιοσύνη of the Mosaic Law with the δικαιοσύνη offered under the Gospel, and at the fifth verse he thus proceeds :

² Rom. x. 5.

“For Moses writes about (γράφει) the δικαιοσύνη which proceeds out of the Law, saying (ὅτι recitative),^a the man that doeth these things (αὐτὰ) shall live by them. But the δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως (a phrase which I leave untranslated advisedly) speaks thus wise (οὕτω—where note that there is no ὅτι recitative—no actual quotation), ‘say not in thy heart who shall go up to heaven,’ i. e. to bring Christ down, nor ‘who shall go down into the abyss,’ i. e. to bring up Christ from the dead ; but *what does it say?*—The phrase is near thee, *in thy mouth and in thy memory* ; that is, the phrase of the Faith, which phrase we proclaim (τὸ ῥῆμα^b τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν), saying (ὅτι recitative),—(and here observe that the particle indicates the commencement of an actual quotation once more)—ἐὰν ὁμολογήσης ἐν τῷ στόματί σου Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πιστεύσης ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν σωθήσῃ.

^a [Winer barely notices this idiom, which appears to me to play a very important part in the Greek Testament, and Mr. Moulton seems strangely to have misunderstood Winer's meaning. The translator's footnote at p. 683 has nothing to do with the construction which the text is concerned with. In the new edition of Kühner's *Ausf. Gram. der Gr. Sprache* (Hanover, 1872), this use of ὅτι is carefully handled, and a large number of instances given, § 551-4, vol. ii. p. 885. See too *Madv. Grk. Syntax* (Eng. tr.), § 192-6, and *Goodwin's Grk. Moods*, § 79.]

^b [See a valuable note by the lamented Mr. James Riddell, on the expression ῥήμασι τε καὶ ὀνόμασι, in Plato's *Apol. Socrat.* c. I.]

Here we have the very words of the interpolation of the eighth chapter of the Acts; here the *ἐὰν* and the *σωθήσει* of the Codex Laudianus receive their elucidation; in the Acts the *ἐὰν* is ungrammatical, here it is perfectly correct; *there* there is no mention of the confession to be made with the mouth, here the particle belongs first to *ὁμολογήσης*, next to *πιστεύσης*; *there* the first clause is omitted, though the original particle is retained, the verb being slightly altered, possibly from mere carelessness.

But what is the meaning of this word *σωθήση* or *σωθήσει*?

In the account which St. Peter gives of his baptism of Cornelius at Cæsarea, in the eleventh chapter of the Acts, the Apostle (verse thirteen) tells his hearers that on his arrival at Cornelius' house, the centurion had reported to him that he had seen an angel, and that the angel had bidden him send for Peter, *ὃς λαλήσει ῥήματα πρὸς σε ἐν οἷς σωθήση σὺ καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκός σου*, and that just as he had begun to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them; and he adds, 'I remembered the saying (*τοῦ ῥήματος*) of the Lord, how he said, John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.' Can there be any reasonable doubt that the word *σωθήση* of the fourteenth verse is the equivalent of the *βαπτισθήσεθε* of the sixteenth, and that the *ῥήματα ἐν οἷς σωθήση* of verse fourteen must be explained by the *ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως* of the tenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans?

An interesting parallel to this passage in the eleventh chapter of the Acts is afforded in the sixteenth chapter. We there read that the jailor in the prison at Philippi, alarmed by the earthquake, and thinking his prisoners had escaped, was reassured by the presence of mind and coolness exhibited by Paul and Silas, and falling down before them said, *Κύριοι, τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ*,³ 'What is it necessary for me to *do* in order that I may be *saved*?' St. Paul,

³ Acts xvi. 30.

true to himself and to the principles which he enunciates in the Epistle to the Romans, that it was not a question of *doing* anything at all, but of profession and believing, replies, Πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου,⁴ 'Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou mayest be saved, thou and all thy house.' And accordingly, after receiving the necessary instruction, for ἐλάλησαν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου⁵—then ἐβαπτίσθη αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες παραχρῆμα.⁶ The conclusion appears inevitable; that the '*saving*' of the one verse answers to the '*Baptism*' of the other, and that whether the jailor meant to apply for Baptism or not, (using the expression *ἵνα σωθῶ*), St. Paul, at any rate, gave this sense to his words.

If this view of the passages examined be the correct one, then more than one other passage confessedly difficult is cleared up; e. g. we can understand what St. Paul means, in 1 Cor. i. 18, by saying that the λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ is folly τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, but a divine power ἡμῖν τοῖς σωζομένοις; for the unbaptized were still ἀπολλύμενοι, —in a state of perdition,—but the baptized were *in a state of salvation*, (σωζόμενοι). So again in the second Epistle and second chapter, making use of the simile of a triumphant procession, he says at the fifteenth verse,⁷ Χριστοῦ εὐδία ἐσμέν τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, i. e. *to the baptized and the unbaptized*, to those in a state of salvation and those in a state of perdition. For, as St. Peter explains to us, 'Just as the ark in the days of Noe *put into a state of safety*'⁸ the eight that were delivered from the flood, and so by means of water the few were *saved*, so its antitype, Baptism, ὑμᾶς νῦν σώζει: And hence, too, after the day of Pentecost, when that amazing awakening brought thousands to embrace the faith and to put on Christ by baptism, it is said, "the Lord added to the Church daily" τοὺς σωζομένους;⁹ for, as St. Paul says to Titus, (there too possibly, as is maintained by Professor

⁴ Ver. 31.

⁵ Ver. 32.

⁶ Ver. 33.

⁷ 2 Cor. ii. 15.

⁸ 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22.

⁹ Acts ii. 47.

Liddon, quoting an early Christian document,) ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, Tit. iii. 5.^a

I cannot but conclude then, from a comparison of the passages cited, that we have in the spurious thirty-seventh verse of the ninth chapter of the Acts, a fragment of the Apostolic summary of faith designated by the technical terms previously referred to; and that this same clause is again quoted, with greater exactness and verbal accuracy, in the tenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.

I turn next to a passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, where another such quotation is to be found.

• 1 Cor. xv. 1. In the fifteenth chapter,¹⁰ St. Paul, preparing to speak with the most solemn emphasis on the subject of the resurrection of the body, introduces the subject thus: 'I declare unto you, brethren, the Gospel which I announced (εὐηγγελισάμην) to you, which too ye received, in which ye had your standing, by means of which too ye are *in a state of salvation* (δι' οὗ καὶ σώζεσθε), if ye abide by the "word" which I announced to you, unless ye believed in vain.'^b

^a Liddon's Bampton Lectures (2nd ed.), p. 328.

^b The difficulties of the passage are many and perplexing. I must repeat that I do not think this the place for discussing them elaborately; but after long and careful consideration I have arrived at the following conclusions:—

- (i.) *τίμι* is to be regarded as a substitution of the interrogative for the relative pronoun as at St. Mark xiv. 36, and 1 Tim. i. 7. [See Green's Gram. of the N. T. Dialect, p. 247. Winer, as represented by his translator, p. 210, is obscure to the verge of being unintelligible. Compare Soph. El. 1167, and Hermann's note as against Jebb; cp. too Soph. Trach. 339.]
- (ii.) *κατέχετε* must have the same meaning as at 1 Cor. xi. 2, and is to be compared with *μένειν* in such passages as 1 Tim. ii. 15, and 2 Tim. iii. 14; or with *προσέχειν*, Acts xvi. 14, and frequently elsewhere.
- (iii.) The strange construction of *κατέχειν*, c. dat., though, as far as I know, without parallel, is hardly more violent than the use of the same word by Thuc. viii. 28 . . . ἐν ᾗ Ἀμόργης . . . κατεῖχε.

Then he continues to explain what it was which he did transmit to them.¹¹ 'For I delivered to you, as of prime importance (ἐν πρώτοις), *that which I received.*'—Received from whom?—Dean Alford (in loco), says, 'from the Lord by special revelation.' I can by no means accept this view. So far from St. Paul even implying anything of the sort, he implies exactly the contrary. When, as in the eleventh chapter,¹² he reminds the Corinthians that he had delivered to them a special and peculiar account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, which *differs materially from the account given by any of the three synoptic Evangelists*, he expressly tells them that he received *that account* ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου. Here the inference is just the reverse. No! that which he is alluding to in the fifteenth chapter is clearly something different, viz. the elementary and fundamental doctrines of the primitive faith, which, *as it was delivered to him at his baptism*, to keep safe, and to hold firm, so it was a precious deposit he was bound to hand on to others also. And accordingly here, as in the passage of the Romans previously discussed, he proceeds to quote this παράδοσις verbatim, introducing the several clauses, as before, by the particle ὅτι in its recitative usage. 'This is what I received, viz. Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and he was buried, and he was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures, and he was seen by Peter, then by the twelve. . . .' Here I believe the actual quotation ceases, and what follows is appended by the Apostle as corroborative of the actual clauses of the παράδοσις cited before; the style changes, from the short sentences above, to a longer and more explicit statement the moment the recitative ὅτι ceases to be employed.

¹¹ Ver. 3.¹² 1 Cor. xi. 23.

Feeling as I do that a deliberate consideration of the passages hitherto discussed will hardly allow any competent student to hesitate as to the conclusion to be arrived at, I refrain from weakening the argument by introducing any doubtful passage into the discussion.

* * * * *

So far the attempt has been to detect the fragments of the first or elementary and fundamental creed, which, as I have said before, there is reason to believe was drawn up by the Apostles shortly after the ascension of the Lord.

I proceed next to an examination of such passages as appear to contain quotations from supplementary and more expanded statements of Primitive doctrine, regarding which it is reasonable to assume that they were of the nature of Esoteric Formulæ delivered to the πιστοὶ for their edification and advancement in Christian knowledge.

A less elaborate discussion of these passages will suffice, as they are more numerous than might be expected, and their bearing upon the subject under review acquires its main force from the amount of cumulative evidence that can be produced.

The first passage to be noticed is in the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans:¹³ μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε, says the Apostle at the eighth verse, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν, ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκεν. . . . Then, after explaining this, he resumes at the tenth verse, πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη, adding, καὶ τοῦτο εἰδότες τὸν καιρὸν,¹⁴ ‘and do that, observing the occasion;’ then follows the quotation indicated by the particle ὅτι, viz. :—¹⁵

¹³ Rom. xiii. 8.

¹⁴ See Winer, p. 707.

¹⁵ Ver. 11.

ὥρα ἡμᾶς ἤδη
 ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι
 νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον
 ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία
 ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν.
 ἢ νῦν προέκοψεν
 ἢ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν.

‘Already ’tis the hour to be wakened out of slumber, for nearer now is our salvation than when [first] we did believe. Far spent is the night, the day is near at hand.’

Exactly parallel to this is another ‘fragment of a Hymn on Penitence,’ as Professor Liddon calls it,¹⁶ quoted in Eph. v. 14 :—

τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐλεγχόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς φανεροῦνται
 πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον φῶς ἐστίν· διὸ λέγει
 ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων
 καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν
 καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

¹⁶ Bampton Lectures, p. 328.

Passing on from the Epistle to the Romans, we find St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians dealing with certain matters with which the controversies in the Corinthian Church were mainly concerned.¹⁷ With regard to quarrels between the brethren, he lays down the principle that it is best to ‘settle them out of court.’ With regard to questions of meats clean and unclean, and with regard to fornication, he takes up the same ground as that occupied by the *δόγματα*. In both cases, however, he bases his argument upon certain *assumptions which he takes it for granted that the Corinthians would not dispute*. Thus at the first verse he says :— ‘Does any of you . . . venture to go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? Know ye not,¹⁸ οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον

¹⁷ 1 Cor. vi. 1.

¹⁸ Ver. 3.

κρινούσι;’ Continuing in the same strain, he proceeds:—

- ¹⁹ Ver. 9. ‘What! know ye not,¹⁹ ἄδικοι Θεοῦ βασιλείαν οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν;’
²⁰ Ver. 15. Again, while on the subject of fornication, he asks, ‘Know ye not,²⁰
 τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ;’ Lastly, he asks once more, at verse
 19,²¹ What, know ye not, τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου
 πνεύματος ἐστίν;^a

We have here in half a page of writing four several appeals to the intimate knowledge of certain profound truths possessed by the Corinthians. Consider what these appeals assume. They assume that four statements—any one of which might well be regarded as ‘a hard saying’—had already been accepted as indisputable,—*not by virtue of their being put forth by the Apostle, but antecedent to the writing of the Epistle in which they occur.*—Now what are these statements?

- (i.) The saints shall judge the world.
- (ii.) The unjust shall not inherit the kingdom of God.
- (iii.) Our bodies are the members of Christ.
- (iv.) Our body is the temple of the Holy Ghost.

Of course it is easy to say that the first of these statements is an ‘extension to the whole body of believers of that promise which our Lord in the first instance gave to the twelve;’²² but surely this is to assume that the Apostle gives the Corinthians credit for making an inference from our Lord’s words which, at least, is not an obvious one. Or, again, it is easy to say that the *second* statement is no more than ‘the converse of the promise

²² St. Luke
 xxii. 30; St.
 Matt. xix. 28.

^a Dean Alford says St. Paul ‘appeals to an axiomatic truth!’ The words are familiar to us *now*, but could they have appeared other than very startling ‘axioms’ to the mass of educated men in the reign of Nero? Nevertheless the Apostle *does* appeal to these truths as matters of familiar knowledge *among his Corinthian converts*. The question is, ‘*How* had truths like these become “axiomatic?”’

given in the Sermon on the Mount, that the meek *shall* inherit *the earth*,²³ though here too the assumption is, at least, a bold one, ²³ St. Matt. v. 4. that the Corinthians would so understand the words. But when we come to the third and fourth statements we are introduced to a thought quite supplementary to any such promises as occur in our Lord's teaching,—a thought, indeed, which could only suggest itself *after* the Lord's death, resurrection and ascension with his glorified body. On the other hand, regard these four statements as derived from some recognized and authoritative summary of things believed and received, and St. Paul's appeal to them and quotation of them become immediately intelligible,—then, *and only then*, they require no explanation and no comment; and so regarded a fresh light is thrown upon those other passages where similar assumptions are made and similar appeals resorted to. Thus the emphatic repetition of the second of these statements at Gal. v. 21, and the recurrence of precisely the same expressions at Eph. v. 5, acquire a new significance; and thus too the frequent allusion and reference to the mysterious doctrine set forth in the third and fourth of these statements, which the Apostolic writings contain, is accounted for and explained.

Again, in the eighth chapter of the same Epistle it appears to me that much of the obscurity of the first few verses is dispelled if it be conceded that the Apostle is referring to and quoting from such a 'recognized summary' as I am contending for. St. Paul thus begins the chapter:²⁴ 'With regard then to the idol sacrifices; we know that we all have a *γνώσις*,—*γνώσις* puffs up, love builds up. If anyone thinks^a he has got to know anything,²⁵ not yet has he

²⁴ 1 Cor. viii. 1.

²⁵ δοκεῖ ἐγνοῦναι τι.

^a Perhaps it would be pressing the force of the perf. infin. too much to translate: 'If anyone thinks he *has perfect knowledge of* anything,' and yet I am not sure that this is not St. Paul's meaning.

got to know anything as he ought to know it; but if anyone love God, he has become known by Him.'

We have here a contrast drawn between the *γνώσις*—which (*exactly as in the case of the πίστις*) is treated at one time as having an objective existence, and at another as a subjective intellectual apprehension—and the *ἀγάπη*, i.e., the sanctified emotional faculty which appropriates and clings to Christ. The former is not to be trusted as our sole guide; it requires to be controlled and directed by the latter. Nevertheless, as regards the matter under discussion, viz. the idol sacrifices, the *γνώσις* in the main is to be taken as our guide; for, '*We know*

(i.) οὐδὲν εἰδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ.'

And again, '*We know*

(ii.) οὐδεὶς θεὸς ἕτερος εἰ μὴ εἰς.'

And whatever may be asserted of other gods and other lords, *yet for us*,²⁶

²⁶ 1 Cor. viii.
5, 6.

(iii.) εἰς Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ.'

'Howbeit,' he adds, 'the *γνώσις* is not granted to all'—

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πάσιν ἡ γνώσις.^a

In these verses again we have three statements made, and each

^a For this use of ἐν, compare 1 Cor. ii. 6, σοφίαν λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις. It is hardly necessary to point out that the rendering of our version which represents the article as used for the demonstrative ('that knowledge') is untenable. There is no instance in the Greek of the New Testament of this use of the article.

For the sentiment expressed, compare 2 Thess. iii. 2 . . . οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις.

is appealed to as a matter of intimate knowledge. If it be said that the second of these is little more than a *quotation* from the decalogue, and that the first is a *reference* to the second commandment likewise, I should not feel any very great reluctance to concede the point so far as those two quotations are concerned; but it will certainly not be contended that the sixth verse could be derived from any but a Christian source, and that it is an actual quotation from such a document as I have before referred to seems to me to be obvious.

Once more, in the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, a passage which has been before alluded to, St. Paul writes, at the twenty-third verse: ²⁷ 'For I received from the Lord ²⁸ 1 Cor. xi. that which I also delivered to you, viz. this (ὅτι recitative), ^{23-25.} "The Lord Jesus, in the night that He was betrayed, took bread, and, after giving thanks, He brake, and said"' Then follow the remarkable verses which give the Pauline version of the institution of the Lord's Supper, ending with the twenty-sixth verse; where the Apostle resumes the argument which the quotation had interrupted and explains the bearing of that quotation upon the subject in hand. What is to be insisted on, however, is, that the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth verses are actual quotations, expressly introduced by that same particle of which the Apostle makes such frequent use.

In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, there is if possible a still more obvious quotation. In the fifth chapter, at the thirteenth verse, St. Paul says, ²⁸ 'with a brave religious scorn,'— ²⁸ 2 Cor. v. 13. "For whether we are mad, it is on God's behalf, or whether we are of sound mind, it is on your's; for Christ's love constraineth us," after deciding this (κρίναντας τούτο), viz. (again the particle ὅτι introduces the quotation), εἰ εἰς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ

πάντες ἀπέθανον· καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι, 'If one died for all, then all died, and He did die for all, that the living should no more live for themselves, but for Him who died for them and rose.'

The next passage I shall adduce is to be found in the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews;²⁹ and it is a remarkable one, because the document or symbol there quoted is designated by the distinctive title ἡ πίστις. I allude to the seventh verse :

Μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὧν ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς μιμεῖσθε τὴν πίστιν·

Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς χθὲς καὶ σήμερον ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Adopting the interpretation of ἔκβασιν given by Dean Alford, though it is far from certain, and bearing in mind that μιμεῖσθαι is used only once more in the New Testament with an inanimate object, viz. in the Third Epistle of St. John,³⁰ ver. 11, μὴ μιμοῦ τὸ κακόν, 'Do not take evil as your pattern to copy;' and that μιμητὴς is probably never used at all with an inanimate object, (unless,³¹ in 1 Pet. iii. 13, we read with Tischendorf, as against Lachmann and Tregelles, εἰς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μιμηταὶ γένησθε, 'If ye take good as your pattern to copy.')

²⁹ 1 Pet. iii. 13.

³⁰ 3 John 11.

—I translate the passage thus :
'Remember your leaders who spake to you the word of the Lord, the end of whose course as ye keep in view, take as your pattern the πίστις,' viz.

"Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day and for ever."

Then, in marked contrast, he adds ; 'As for *various and strange teachings*, be not carried away by *them*.' Unless the eighth verse be regarded as a quotation, I am unable to understand its connection with what precedes or follows.

It is, however, when we enter upon a critical examination of the Pastoral Epistles that the evidence in favour of the existence of these early formularies, and the number of unmistakable quotations from them, become absolutely overwhelming. Nay, the very peculiarity of the language employed, and the frequency of the citations, have actually been made the main ground of argument for rejecting these Epistles as spurious by those barren and hungry critics whose business in life seems to be to reduce all belief to a minimum.

In the Pastoral Epistles there are at least eight different terms used for designating the early Christian formularies referred to and cited. These are (1) ἡ παραγγελία : (2) ἡ διδασκαλία or ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία or ἡ καλὴ διδασκαλία : (3) ἡ πίστις : (4) ἡ διδαχή : (5) ἡ καλὴ ὁμολογία : (6) ἡ παραθήκη or ἡ καλὴ παραθήκη (for which some, on wholly insufficient evidence, read παρακαταθήκη) : (7) τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως or τὸ μυστήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας : (8) ὁ πιστὸς λόγος.

It cannot be denied that there is something very striking in the way in which the Apostle, in these his last Epistles, dwells again and again upon the importance of adhering to the formularies which he designates by these peculiar terms. If we assume that these Pastoral Epistles were composed during a second imprisonment at Rome, and very shortly before his martyrdom, it is no more than reasonable to suppose that between the two imprisonments an authoritative (though not necessarily inspired) confession of faith or summary of doctrine, supplementary to the first and shorter symbol, was drawn up by the surviving Apostles and Elders of the Apostolic Churches as a safeguard against the troubles that now began to threaten on all sides, and as a sacred deposit which the teachers especially,

and perhaps too the taught, were charged to keep in trust for future times. Be that, however, as it may, here we have in these Epistles unmistakable evidence of the existence of some such document, from whatever source it emanated, and, as I shall now proceed to show, we have unmistakable quotations from it in the Epistles themselves.

²² 1 Tim. iii. 3.

In the First Epistle to Timothy,²² i. 3, St. Paul expressly states that his object in bidding Timothy to remain in Ephesus was *ἵνα παραγγείλῃς τισὶ μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*. But how *could* a man be a teacher of a *different* doctrine unless there were some standard from which to differ?^a And accordingly, St. Paul immediately, at verse 5, proceeds to indicate what that standard is; he calls it *ἡ παραγγελία*—the *εὐαγγέλιον* was one thing, the *παραγγελία* was its supplement and comment—and he says that the object (*τὸ τέλος*) of that *παραγγελία* was love. Proceeding to talk of the law and its province, he says it is concerned with the wicked and immoral, and (at the tenth verse) with everything that is opposed to the wholesome teaching, *καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ*: then, breaking out into one of his characteristic bursts of adoring gratitude for the miracle of mercy wrought upon himself, he says,²³ at the fifteenth verse, *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος*, ‘Faithful is the word and worthy of all acceptation,’ viz. (for the *ὅτι*, as so frequently noticed, is here again recitative, and marks the quotation), “Christ Jesus came into

²³ 1 Tim. iii.
15.

^a Entirely assenting, as we must needs do, to the dictum of Mr. Shilleto,—that “*ἕτερος* and *ἄλλος* are marvellously confounded in Greek” (Thuc. I. xlviii. § 2)—and perfectly aware, as I am, that the Greek of the New Testament scarcely recognises any distinction in meaning in the two *adjectives*, I cannot admit that the notion of *diversity* is even faintly lost sight of in the compounds *ἑτερόγλωσσος*, 1 Cor. xiv. 21; *ἑτεροφυεῖν*, 2 Cor. vi. 14; or *ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*, 1 Tim. i. 3, and vi. 3.

the world to save sinners." The fifteenth verse can be no other than a quotation, the particle *ὅτι* indicating that the citation is a verbal one.

In the second chapter the Apostle is insisting on the necessity of women being silent in the assemblies of the Church.³⁴ ³⁴ 1 Tim. ii. 13. 'For,' says he, 'Adam was *first* formed, then Eve. And Adam was not the one deceived, but it was the woman who committed the transgression when she had been deceived, yet she shall be saved *by the childbirth*.' What childbirth?

The allusion is to the promise given after the fall—the first announcement of the coming of the Deliverer in the person of the Son of Man: 'The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head.' Then St. Paul once more gives a quotation, *ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἀγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης—πίστος ὁ λόγος.*^a

Of all the stumbles that Robert Stephens made, 'inter equitandum,' only one seems to me to have been more unfortunate than his division of the chapters at this point. The old Lectionary of the Church of England makes the best of the bad blunder by ordering that both the second and third chapters should be read on the 19th of March, the 18th of July, and the 14th of November; but as long as the chapters remain divided as they are in our Bibles, the unlearned though thoughtful reader will never cease to marvel how it could be a *faithful saying* that if any one desireth the office of a Bishop he desireth a good work!

The next passage calling for examination is the famous one in 1 Timothy iii. 16. This is not the time to enter into any

^a See Shilleto on Thuc. I. 120.

discussion on the reading of the verse, indeed $\delta\varsigma$ for $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is now accepted by almost every scholar qualified to have an opinion on the point. But how to account for the anacoluthon $\delta\varsigma$ is the difficulty; a difficulty which was felt so much by the early copyists, that in many copies $\delta\varsigma$ was actually altered to δ . Treat the words that follow as a quotation, and the whole passage becomes clear; the *μυστήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας* of verse 16 is the *μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως* of the ninth, and the *διδασκαλία κατ' εὐσεβείαν* of chapter vi. 3; and these are some of its sayings,

ἐφανερώθη . . . ἐν σαρκί,
ἐδικαιώθη . . . ἐν πνεύματι,
ᾤφθη . . . ἀγγέλοις,
ἐκηρύχθη . . . ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
ἐπιστεύθη . . . ἐν κόσμῳ,
ἀνελήμφθη . . . ἐν δόξῃ.

Whether this extract may be considered metrical or not I dare not presume to decide, but that the whole structure of the passage suggests that it was composed with a view to its being used in the congregation antiphonally is, to say the least, highly probable.

This view is strongly confirmed by another quotation in the Second Epistle. In the second chapter, at the ninth verse, he says, 'I am suffering hardship even to imprisonment (*μέχρι δεσμῶν*), but, the word of God is not imprisoned (*ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ δέδεται*);' and then at the eleventh verse he adds *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*, 'faithful is that word,' (of course the *πιστὸς* is a predicate, and not a mere attribute); then he quotes it,—

εἰ [γὰρ] συναπεθάνομεν, . . . καὶ συνζήσομεν
εἰ ὑπομένομεν, . . . καὶ συνβασιλεύσομεν
εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα, . . . καὶ κείνος ἀρνήσεται ἡμᾶς

εἰ ἀπιστοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος πιστὸς μένει·
ἀρνήσασθαι ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται.^a

For the position of the particle γὰρ in the eleventh verse, there is an exact parallel in another quotation in the First Epistle ;³⁵ 35 1 Tim. iv. 9.

πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, 'Faithful is the word, and it deserves all acceptance ;'

εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ κοπιῶμεν καὶ ὀνειδιζόμεθα, ὅτι ἠλπίκαμεν ἐπὶ Θεῷ ζῶντι, ὅς ἐστι σωτὴρ παντῶν μάλιστα πιστῶν.

Only one more quotation remains, but with regard to that I confess to a feeling of considerable uncertainty. The passage I allude to occurs in the third chapter of the Epistle to Titus, at the eighth verse. That there is a quotation is undeniable, for the usual formula (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος—'faithful is the word'), which occurs five times in these Pastoral Epistles, indicates this; but I cannot but hesitate to decide whether that formula refers to the words that go before, δικαιωθέντες τῇ ἐκείνου χάριτι κληρονόμοι γεννηθῶμεν κατ' ἐλπίδα ζωῆς αἰωνίου, or whether they refer to what follows, φροντίζουσι καλῶν ἔργων προϊστασθαι οἱ πεπιστευκότες Θεῷ. On the one hand, we are reminded of an expression in the Epistle to the Romans, viii. 24, τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν, 'For we were saved (i.e. put into a condition of salvation at our baptism) with the hope:' as though ἡ ἐλπίς were a familiar term having a prominent position in the πιστὸς λόγος. On the other hand, we cannot overlook the evident repetition of the injunction, φροντίζειν καλὰ ἔργα προϊστασθαι, in verse 14, μάθανέντωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι καλῶν ἔργων προϊστασθαι εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας. It is not impossible that both the words which precede and those which follow the expression πιστὸς ὁ λόγος may

^a For the omission of γὰρ, see Tisch. and Tregelles.

all be extracted from the same document, and the occurrence of the final particle *⁊* lends colour to this view.

I have now completed the examination of all these passages in the Apostolic writings, which appear to me to be unmistakable quotations from primitive formulæ.

It is not to be supposed that any one document contained them all. Rather is it much more likely that we have in these passages so quoted extracts from compositions differing widely in character or perhaps even in authority. Some of these passages must have come from 'Formulæ for instruction of Catechumens before Baptism, and for customary Rehearsal after Baptism, or for the Interrogatives used at the actual time of Baptism;' ³⁸ some from the fuller and more expanded expositions of Primitive Doctrine, intended for those more advanced in Christian knowledge. Some appear to have been derived from Liturgies used in public worship, some possibly from directions addressed to the ordained officers of the Church. It may be that many more such citations remain to be pointed out. I have refrained from adducing any on which, as it appears to me, any doubt could be entertained.

³⁸ Heurtley's
Harmonia
Symbolica,
Preface.

What has become of all these precious documents? Alas! Swept away for ever—the persecutor's zeal too vehement and his fire too scorching to spare them for the later times. One thinks of that dreary blank between St. Paul and Irenæus, that barren century in the history of the Church when the mists of ungodliness made her afraid, and the wonder is not that so 'much is taken' but that so 'much remains.'

The faith which the Apostles taught, and which the Apostolic Church held sacred and dear, must have perished utterly in a single generation if the Lord's presence had not been with the storm-tossed bark; it must have perished utterly if his spirit had not

stirred men's hearts to guard the excellent deposit, and watch over its substance and its form with a jealous love. Even the prosaic and unimpassioned Irenæus rises into eloquence when he speaks of the Primitive Creed. Other documents may have gone down into silence; this at any rate has survived, and as he rehearses it for the confutation of error and the instruction of generations yet unborn, he boldly claims for it an antiquity and a catholicity which no theory of merely ordinary authorship can explain. With his words I conclude, not because what they say bears with any special force upon the main subject of this dissertation, but because the manner of saying it illustrates so many of the phrases to which attention has been drawn, and because the good bishop's language, when speaking of the creeds of the Church, appears saturated with those very terms on the importance of which I have insisted: ³⁷

³⁷ S. Irenæus
contra Hæres.
lib. i. c. x. § 2,
ed. Stieren.

Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρεληφύα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ὡς προέφαμεν, ἡ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα . . . καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἐν στόμα κεκτημένη. Καὶ γὰρ αἱ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή. . . . Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας πανταχῇ φαίνει καὶ φωτίζει πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν. Καὶ οὔτε ὁ πᾶν δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστῶτων ἕτερα τούτων ἐρεῖ· (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον) οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν.

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

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